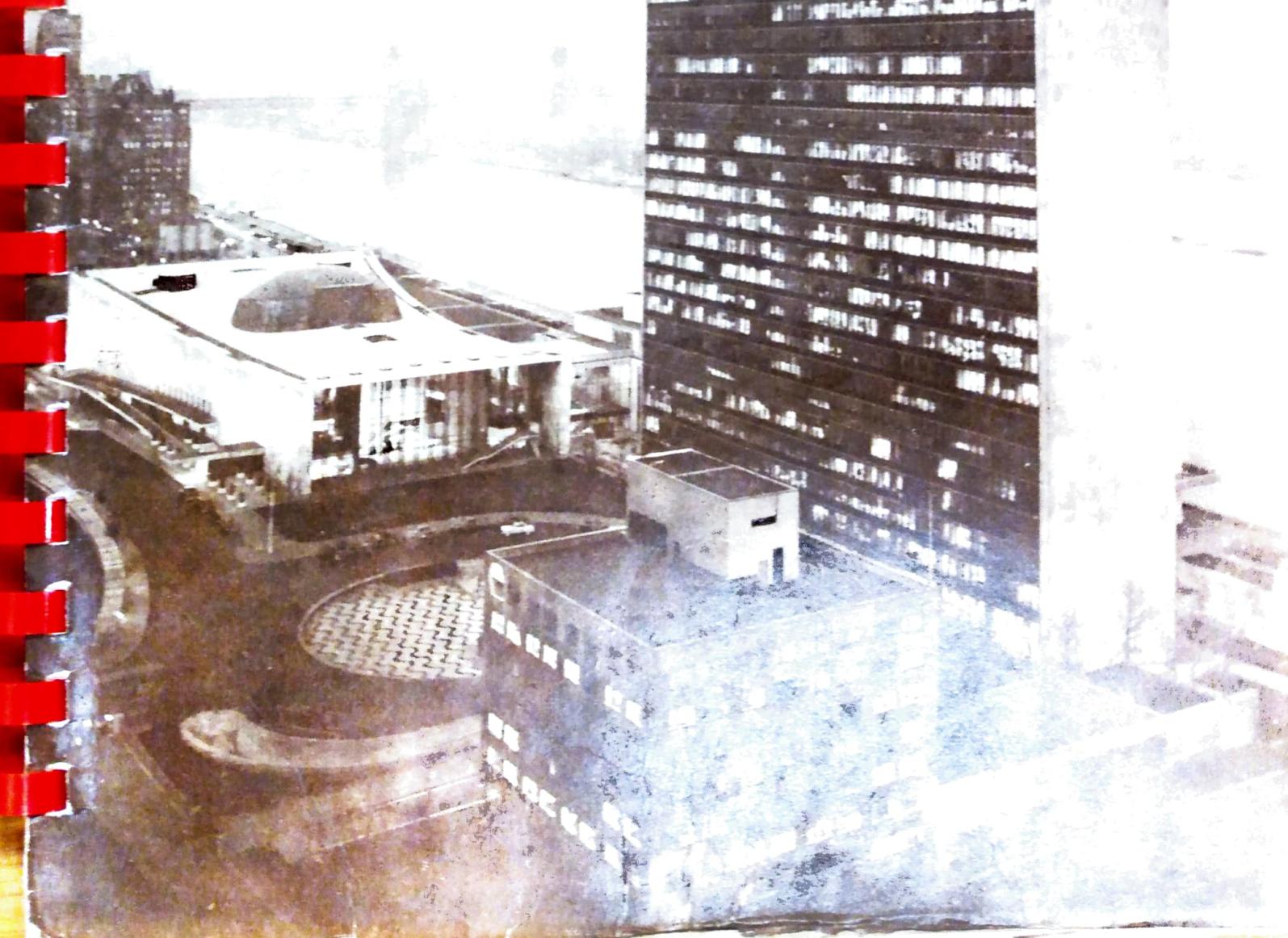


Unvarnished - Frank - Realistic

The Truth  
about the  
**United Nations**



# The Truth About The United Nations



*Lillian M. Weller  
John Brown*

**The Speeches, Findings, & Resolutions  
of  
The Congress of Freedom, Inc.**

**Assembled In Convention In Veteran's War Memorial  
Auditorium, San Francisco, April 25 - 30, 1955**

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***"To Appraise the Purpose, Philosophy, and  
Ten-Year Record of the United Nations."***

**DEDICATED TO**  
**"The Preservation of Liberty And**  
**Freedom In America"**

# Forward



Veteran's War Memorial Auditorium, San Francisco. This was the site of the Convention of The Congress of Freedom, Incorporated, April 25-30, 1955.



In the Veterans War Memorial Auditorium of San Francisco on April 25, 1955, the Congress of Freedom assembled "to appraise the purpose, philosophy and the ten-year record of the United Nations".

In that same city, in the same auditorium, ten years before to the day, April 25, 1945, the conference to organize the United Nations had met for its opening exercises. Much has been said about the fact that the opening exercises did not implore Divine Guidance through public prayer. Yet, could it have been otherwise, since among the nations gathered there were some that did not believe in a God, some that did not believe in Christ, some that did not believe in any spiritual Being. The United States was in odd company to form a tight knit company.

The Congress of Freedom is something new in American organizations. It, too, is a United group, an organization that is composed of appointed or elected representatives of many other organizations existing throughout the nation. These local organizations all have one thing in common they believe in America and are dedicated to the protection of its institutions of government above all else. They do not represent a political party line, neither are they representatives of some pressure group, labor, capital, church or geographical section. First and foremost, they believe and maintain, unselfishly, that the future welfare and peace of the world depends upon a strong, a spiritual, a liberty loving and a liberty living America, the United States of America. The preservation of that country, its ideals, its privileges is its goal.

In that atmosphere and in that dedication, this group of representatives of some 500 groups and organizations from all over the nation assembled as the Congress of Freedom to study what had been brought forth ten years before, the Charter & the Organization of the United Nations. That study was to be made in the light of what had been developed because of its birth, and what might well be expected to develop through its direction, in the years ahead including a revision of the charter.

In the recent Pro America Study of the United Nations Charter it is stated that "On the agenda of the General Assembly in 1955 will be the question of whether to hold a general Conference for revision of the United Nations Charter. — Secretary Dulles has told the General Assembly that the opportunity to hold such a Conference should not be grasped — It is likely that the Conference if agreed to will be held in 1956. Our Secretary of State has announced that the United States will vote in favor of such a General Conference. Public hearings are being held by the Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate."

The study continues "Any amendment of the Charter that might be ratified by the American people would constitute a reaffirmation of the entire Charter by our people. This must be so because no proposed amendment could be properly made unless the entire Charter had been thoroughly studied whether the proposed terms were taken care of in other parts of the existing Charter. — It may be seriously said at this time that the Charter as it was ratified by the U. S. Senate was little under-

stood by our citizens and that they had small adequate knowledge of it and the scope it covered."

It further emphasizes the "Importance of our citizens knowing plans for Charter changes leading to World Government through which—

1. Citizens would be subject to world law.
2. Congress would lose its power to an international authority.

3. Our Constitution would be superseded by a world authority. **Importance of citizens' understanding of the fact that in our nation treaties become the law of the land.**

The Charter was signed in San Francisco June 25, 1945. It was submitted to the Senate July 9. The Foreign Relations Committee began its hearings on July 11 and made its report July 16. The Senate ratified the Charter on July 28, 1945, as a treaty.

The debate in Congress on the Bricker Amendment and newspaper articles show clearly that very few Americans realize the impact of treaties and the fact that domestic law is created in this nation by international treaties, covenants, and agreements (See Article VI, Part 2 of our Constitution and also Supreme Court decisions on this matter since 1921.)

The first element of good and fair law making is that those persons upon whom the laws will fall shall understand the full impact and implications of those laws. Therefore, we have to understand all parts of the U. N. Charter and treaties and international agreements which are proposed. This creates the greatest of all debates which could possibly be brought before the citizens of this nation. Its import is far greater to American citizens than to the people of any other nation because of the unique privileges and rights possessed by the people of this country under the concept of the government of the United States of America.

## TWO POINTS OF VIEW CONCERNING THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER have developed.

The UN organization, with the expressed and implied powers written into its Charter, which we have pledged to uphold and promote has become a very clouded issue. In general, opinion concerning it is divided into two groups. The first general group includes the ideas that were prevalent at the time of the ratification of the Charter by the U. S. Senate.

They were;

### A. An organization of sovereign states

1. Peace the principal objective
2. No intervention by the UN in domestic jurisdiction of member states
3. Its members were sovereign nations and would remain so.

During the past nine years many ideas have emanated through the UN and its subsidiary Commissions,

Committees and Agencies which do not carry out these beliefs

The second general group of thinking includes the idea that the UN organization and Charter contain the potentials for world government and are moving toward that objective.

#### B An organization developing into a world government through—

- 1 Charter changes through use and by interpretation
- 2 Agreements made outside but collateral to the Charter
- 3 Direct proposals for changing the Charter into a world government

Advocates for World Government have a right to press for submission of the sovereignty of this nation as long as it is accomplished by legislation.

It is of the utmost importance that the average citizen of this nation should fully understand the effect of any international organization and international law which, as it operates, may remove from him and his children the shield of our Constitution and his rights and privileges guaranteed under our basic laws. Pertinent to changing the Charter into world government Secretary Dulles has said:

"I have never seen any proposal for Collective security with 'teeth' in it for 'world government' or for world federation which could not be carried out either by the UN or under the UN Charter." — "WAR ON PEACE," 1959.

Such a statement from such a source would indicate that the powers and principles written into the Charter need more study.

This assembly of 1945 to organize the United Nations was planned well in advance of its meeting. Preliminary work had been accomplished at the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals by the Atlantic Charter, the Moscow Declaration of 1943 and at the Yalta meeting. Most of the detail work and the planning had been carried on in this country, intensively and much of it in secret. To quote from the book "The United Nations in Action" by Professor Eugene P. Chase, one of the United States Department of State planners for the organization: "No international agreement has ever been more carefully prepared for than that of the Charter of the United Nations."

The background for its organization was perfect. The world was abuzz with a terrible war. The destruction of lives and property was overwhelming. National rivalries were for the time being forgotten. Every effort was being exerted and channeled into waging and winning this the most devastating and barbarous war in all history. Who was there who was not in favor of anything just so it promised an end to all future wars?

And so when the plan of the United Nations was offered, it was welcomed with fervent hopes. To the American people, to you and to me, the United Nation offered that hope. To our minds that was the sole purpose of it. We hoped and believed that an association of friendly nations could prevent all future wars.

However, in the minds of the men who were planning

the organization, it is evident that other plans and ideas existed. In the words of Professor Chase, "The United Nations cannot be understood without the realization that it is intended to serve two purposes. It is a security organization first of all. But it is correlatively—a WELFARE ORGANIZATION." So while the public, you and I, was accepting an organization to prevent wars, un knowingly it was accepting in fine print, the plan for a world government. It was to be as Professor Chase puts it, a government not so well integrated and so powerful as that of the Soviet Union, or of the United Kingdom or even of the United States, but a world government nevertheless. Continuing the professor writes, "The purpose of the United Nations is clear, no matter how incomplete its organization or ineffective its action," implying, of course that these can be improved upon. This dual purpose of the Charter, spelled out in such vague and general terms as to cover practically any situation, was unknown to the public at large, but conformed to the New Deal policies of the Administration and the Senate. President Truman demanded that the Charter be accepted without amendment and be passed at once. Thus the Senate of the United States did almost unanimously. And again we quote from the "United Nations in Action" by Professor Chase, who himself also approves of the Charter. THOUGH THE ROMAN EMPIRE WAS DESPOTIC AND CRUEL, IT HAD ALL THE CHARACTERISTICS WE DESIRE IN A WORLD GOVERNMENT. THE ROMAN EMPIRE WAS UNIVERSAL. IT HAD ONE GOVERNMENT. IT HAD ONE LAW. IT MADE PEACE, AND IT INCLUDED THE WHOLE WORLD. THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME HARSHNESS AND CRUELTY. IT MAY BE TRUE THAT THE ROMANS MADE A DESERT OF PARTS OF THE WORLD AND CALLED IT PEACE. IT WAS A WORLD GOVERNMENT.

The United Nations is not one yet, for it will take time to develop its program to become one. Even its friends admit that, remarking that our own nation took many years to develop to its full possibilities, too. But just give the United Nations time, they prophecy.

The development of the United Nations has however been much more extensive than most people suspect or imagine. Generally we don't give it much thought or concern. Maybe we poke a little fat at its impotency. It has developed albeit not in the exact way expected by its planners. The remarkable flexibility of the Charter has proven almost the equal of our own. Up to this year not a single amendment has ever reached the voting stage in the Assembly. Yet according to an article in the Saturday Evening Post by Demaree Bass, Entitled "Judgment Day for the UN," most of the changes in the Charter which were really essential for the UN's survival were accomplished without either amending or violating it. The changes were achieved by Informal Amendments, either by allowing some parts of the Charter to fall into disuse or by applying some portions in a manner which the drafters did not contemplate.

This explains much that has happened in the evolution of the United Nations. It seems to indicate in no uncertain way, THAT THE FUTURE BELONGS TO IT. WHAT EVER IS REQUIRED WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED

Warnings of the serious implications and trends of the United Nations have become increasingly numerous. Writers and speakers of national reputation have been working to spread the alarm. And today, in the minds of many of us who formerly were its friends, grave doubts and misgivings and concern have displaced hope. As a consequence, many of us are working to arrive at a solution and to outline an effective program, to protect our nation.

We face a deep, a sincere divergence of opinion on the subject. We find the United Nations promoted, abetted and advocated by some of our most prominent, influential and educated people. We do not question their honesty of purpose but we do their love of nationality and liberty. How can they support an alien document, that four of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States believe supercedes our own Constitution, the most favorable document for the liberty of man that has ever been translated into a government. Worse yet, in the person of a newly named justice of that court, a man appointed by a president who favors the United Nations and a justice who has up until his appointment, belonged to the Atlantic Union, an Internationally minded group, exists possibly that deciding vote.

Dean Manion, universally recognized as a great lawyer and student of the Constitution explains the situation in these words, "Of course the big overriding treaty of all times is the United Nations Charter. Since its adoption, our State Department has officially declared that there is now no longer any real difference between domestic and foreign affairs." Does this mean that the United Nations as the international governor of our affairs is now the controlling law in domestic controversies between American citizens? Has the United Nations Charter displaced the Constitution of the United States as the supreme internal law of the land?

Last April, that precise question was appealed from the Supreme Court of Iowa to the Supreme Court of the United States. Recently that Court announced that it couldn't decide the question because the justices are divided four to four. At the moment we are one justice short of resolution." Yes four unnamed justices of the United States Supreme Court and possibly five now, believe that the United Nations Charter has displaced the constitution as the supreme internal law of the land.

That awful situation, for it is really beyond ones imagination, was nearly corrected a year ago last spring when the Senate of the United States came within one vote of adopting the so-called Bricker Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would have closed such a loop hole.

Yes, the United Nations has developed mightily and in many ways possibly not foreseen, even by its most ardent promoters. For it has become a vast welfare organization, with its committees, teams and organizations, permeating the activities and the governments of nations round the world. That is, all except those of Russia and its satellites. Russia does not go for this internationalism unless it dominates the activity.

The expenditures of the United Nations run into multiplied millions. The United States pays, using the statistics of its friends, over a third of the cost. When support

of the numerous many other branch organizations are considered, the cost is almost unfathomable.

We list here some of these branch organizations of the United Nations.

The United Nations Organization itself is divided into six Divisions, namely, Security Council, General Assembly, International Court of Justice, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council and Secretariat.

Under and responsible to these divisions are numerous subsidiaries, a partial list of which includes these world organizations:

Economic Commission for Europe  
Economic Commission for Asia, Far East  
Economic Commission for Latin America  
Fiscal Commission  
Economic and Employment Commission  
Statistical Commission  
Commission of Transport and Communications  
Commission of Human Rights  
Commission on Status of Women  
Social Commission  
Population Commission  
Narcotic Drugs Commission  
International Labor Commission-ILC  
World Meteorological Organization WMO Russia belongs to this one  
Food and Agricultural Organization FAO  
Intergovernmental Mental Health Consultative Organization IMCO  
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
High Commission on Refugees and Stateless Persons  
Regional Security Arrangements and Agencies  
National Contingents of Armed Forces - Land - Sea Air  
Military Staff Committee  
Disarmament Commission  
Genocide Convention  
Council Committees on Restrictive Business Practices  
International Monetary Fund  
International Civil Aviation Organization ICAO  
The International Telecommunications Union ITU  
The Universal Postal Union  
International Children's Emergency Fund  
Human Rights Congress

We see here a vast bureaucracy setting down over the world. Its intertwining tentacles are becoming the inextricable web of involvement in which our nation is being trapped. Every avenue along which a World Government can develop and travel is being mapped out and developed. Sooner or later, maybe by Executive Agreement, by Treaty, by constitution amendment or by means of interpreting the United Nations Charter to suit their purposes, these World Government proponents will seek to snare us in their organization.

They have a moving song at their disposal. For it's all to be done to the tune and chorus of "Peace." Peace is the magic chord, sung from church pulpits proclaimed from the White House, declaimed from colleges and by the apostles of a New Era. Yes it's "Peace. Peace but There Is No Peace."

For the truth is, the United Nations by admission of even its most loyal supporters has been a lamentable failure in preventing war or calming disputes among na-

tions. Sincere hope in the hearts of people everywhere in its peace-achieving power has turned to disgust over its spineless policies and impotence. The great hope of the millions was that it would stop wars, the only hope in fact. Hypocratically, while it ostensibly worked for peace, healthily, slowly but surely it has been extending its deadly hold, like a python, around the body of the free world, to throttle its independence, its liberties.

How can it do this without an army? Well to accomplish this aim in this country, it really doesn't need an army. Once the terms are agreed upon, no matter how camouflaged, our courts, our administration will enforce them. In this country we abide by our word, by our treaties. Not so in other nations where if a treaty turns out as inconvenient or unfavorable, they tear it up. "It's only a scrap of paper" is a common description of treaties among these nations. But it's not that way in the United States. We abide by them. What if they are a Yalta, a Potsdam, yes even as these, only an executive agreement, not even approved by the Senate. We comply with their requirements, we respect their terms. The sad, sad story of the Korean War is that of our Administration obeying the terms and the directions incurred because of a treaty, the Charter of the United Nations. We submitted to the war policies of the United Nations over the opposition and concern of our experienced and capable military leaders. We submitted to the direction of that war by the United Nations at a cost of thousands of our sons killed, wounded and captured. And then to cap it off agreed to an armistice in which we capitulated to the demands of the enemy on every major point, an armistice since obeyed and respected by ourselves, but continuously violated by that enemy; an armistice that allowed the enemy to shift his forces and bring on another threat at another point, an armistice that has seen the abandonment of our soldiers who have been captured, to the brainwashing, the misery and the torture of a devilish outlaw nation.

Our own people are being brainwashed too. Is there any great outcry of horror and condemnation of this procedure? No, not at all for its all being done in the name of "Peace". We must and do submerge our disgust and chagrin. Our minds are hypnotized by the word. If World Government is the answer, then in the name of "Peace" we will allow it to take over, give up all that the great sacrifices of our forbears have won for us. There is much of that attitude today.

David Lawrence, writing in the U.S. News and World Report recently said writing from Paris "The cynical quip heard here is that the West wants peace at any price while the communists want peace at no price at all."

That's the way it is today. But there will be a Tomorrow, also. Military forces will not be necessary to bring World Government but once we have it, military forces will be recruited to enforce its decrees and policies. It was so in Rome and the Government of Rome cities. It is the ideal for the World Government of tomorrow.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt still continues to criss-cross the nation promoting the United Nations. In her book "UN Today and Tomorrow" she states that the Collective Measures Committee established by the Assembly of the United Nations in their 1950 "Uniting For Peace" resolution is studying measures for collective-security including a UN Legion. It is very possible that a UN Force of World Troops might be organized. And when conditions have reached that point, when war is to be eliminated by Force, and resistance eliminated by Force, when the Charter of the United Nations has become the law of the land, when conditions have reached that point, it will be too late to do anything else about it but to submit to its policies and regulations.

For you see, it will have all come about legally. The Charter was adopted by constitutional procedure. Its import was well known or should have been. We refused to safeguard our constitution by adopting the Bricker Amendment, which would not have allowed the overriding of that instrument of liberty; we built up the prestige and the benevolent reputation and aims of the United Nations, we played down the wonderful advantages of our own great nation and bled it white financially to build up our oppressors. What better will we deserve?

In the following pages will be found the "Truth About the United Nations". It's a story that is more enthralling than fiction, more gripping than tragedy and more necessary reading than any other literature of today. Our future status as a free people depends upon whether the story that follows is learned by the majority of the American people and translated into law by the Congress of the United States.

Of this there is no question. Before we make the final decision to continue on this Highway of the United Nations, as a world government, the one we have been traveling the last ten years without knowing its destination, let us read the signs along the Way, tragic, warning signs, "Don't take this Road, It's a Dead End Highway. Turn Back before it's Too Late."

George J. Thomas—Compiler  
Executive Director,  
Congress of Freedom, Inc.

## Table of Contents

I.	George S. Montgomery Jr., "Keynote Speech"	11
II.	Reverend Claude Bunzel, "Creeping Totalitarianism"	15
III.	Leora A. Baxter, "The United Nations Flag—Will It Fly Above Old Glory?"	21
IV.	Westbrook Pegler, "The Mission of the American Resistance Movement"	25
V.	Miss Freda Utley, "Through The United Nations We Are Losing Our Honor As Well As Our Security"	28
VI.	Mrs. Alice Widener, "The United Nations Endangers U. S. Sovereignty"	32
VII.	Dr. Felix Wittmer, "America's Greatest Contribution To The World—The Constitution!"	35
VIII.	Corinne Griffith, "Our American Gestapo"	39
IX.	Joseph Z. Kornfeld, "The Communist Pattern In The U. N."	46
X.	Mrs. Suzanne Silvercruys Stevenson, "The Fight Against World Government"	49
XI.	F. A. Harper, "The Disharmony of World Unity"	53
XII.	Jessica Wyatt Payne, "The Last Decision—U. S. or U. N."	56
XIII.	George H. Todt, "In My Opinion"	60
XIV.	Mr. Thurman L. McCormick, "Greatest Crime of The Century"	73
XV.	Dr. V. Orval Watts, "The United Nations vs. The United States"	81
XVI.	Ethel Ernest Murrell, "They Have Hidden A Revolution"	87
XVII.	Mr. Bryson Reinhardt, "Selling The Absurdity of The U. N."	91
XVIII.	Miss Florence Fowler Lyons, "UNESCO 'The Devil Loose In The World'"	103
XIX.	Thomas H. Werdel, "The Future As Planned or Us"	109
XX.	Mary D. Cain, "Getting Back To Our Constitution"	115
XXI.	Thaddeus Ashby, "Peace Without U. N."	124

<b>XXII.</b>	Aaron M. Sargent, "Looking At The Foundations" .....	127
<b>XXIII.</b>	Merwin K. Hart, "Liberty Will Be Won Back!" .....	131
<b>XXIV.</b>	John W. Beck, "U. N. Membership Violates Our Constitution" .....	135
<b>XXV.</b>	Thaddeus Ashby—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On The Philosophy Behind The United Nations" .....	142
<b>XXVI.</b>	R. Roy Pursell—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On The Ten Year Record of The United Nations" .....	144
<b>XXVII.</b>	George J. Thomas—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On Military Implications of The United Nations" .....	146
<b>XXVIII.</b>	Mary D. Cain—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On The Economic Aspect of The United Nations" .....	149
<b>XXIX.</b>	Thurman L. McCormick—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium on The Treaty Implications of The United Nations" .....	157
<b>XXX.</b>	Robert B. Rapp—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium on The Genocide Convention" .....	163
<b>XXXI.</b>	John H. Wisner, Jr.—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On The Declaration and Covenant On Human Rights" .....	167
<b>XXXII.</b>	Mrs. Marcia C. J. Matthews—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On The Study and Analysis of The World Agencies of The United Nations" .....	171
<b>XXXIII.</b>	Rosa M. Farber—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On UNESCO The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization" .....	175
<b>XXXIV.</b>	Dr. Arthur G. Blazey—Chairman, "Report of The Symposium On International Labor Organization (I.L.O.)" .....	182
<b>XXXV.</b>	"Congress of Freedom Reports" .....	186
	"Board of Directors of The Congress of Freedom, Inc." .....	191
	"Appendix" .....	192
	"Illustrations:"	
	Veterans War Memorial .....	4
	Martel McNeely .....	141
	Robert Le Fevre .....	141
	Organs of the United Nations .....	185

# The Disharmony of World Unity

By F. A. HARPER

**FLOYD ARTHUR HARPER** — Mr. Harper is a native of Michigan. He attended high school there and took his B. S. Degree from Michigan State in 1926 and his Ph. D. at Cornell University in 1932.

He was an instructor at Cornell University, as well as a professor of Marketing 1935-46. Earlier he had been connected with the Farm Credit Administration and the University of Puerto Rico.

He is the author of many articles, essays and books and among the many Societies and Associations to which he belongs are American Academy of Political and Social Science, Academy of Political Science and American Economic Association.

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We are assembled here to consider the United Nations in relation to our traditional freedom as it has been known in this land.

I have been told that charges of guilt by association are being hurled at those of us here assembled. Yet we came voluntarily for peaceful discussion. In fact, we came here to discuss the matter of compulsory political association on a world basis. And if there be any such thing as guilt by association, it would seem to me that the United Nations itself would be a much more appropriate object of accusation. Would this meeting be free of any guilt by association if everyone in the world had been compelled to attend and if we were ruling and regulating everyone into one pattern?

What I want to say on this occasion is that a logical dilemma confronts anyone who is superficially opposed to the United Nations, but who still believes that the greatest strength is to be found in unity. I wish to suggest that there is weakness rather than strength in the type of forced unity characterized by the United Nations. Unless one can understand this, he is obligated to support rather than to condemn the United Nations as an agency of peace and liberty for mankind.

## UNITY VS. HARMONY

At the outset I want to make the important distinction between unity and harmony. For we want a maximum of harmony, and I am only saying that world unity is not the route to the greatest harmony.

Going to the Oxford Dictionary as an authority, one will find that unity in a metaphysical sense means a oneness which negates any multiplicity of being or existence. Your body, for instance, has many parts but it has a unity such that the living unit is destroyed if the parts are separated. Or if we apply this idea to the problem of a social unity of mankind — the concept of the United Nations — individual persons are not to be considered as self-responsible, independent units. All persons, by this concept, are but bits of clay to be molded politically by some supra-government into a unity of social organism. Such unity denies to individual persons their rights as defined in our Declaration of Independence, for instance.



Harmony, in contrast to unity, is that peaceful arrangement of differing individual units. The musician's harmony, for instance, does not destroy the identity of the different notes that are its parts. The harmony is but the arrangement of these separate identities into a peaceful congruity, pleasing to our ears. In a society of persons, harmony is the voluntary cooperation of variable humans acting in their own right as free persons.

The United Nations is designed for unity, not for harmony. It uses force, really, to attain its ends — political force. Its ends cannot be attained except by means that destroy individual freedom as exemplified in our Declaration of Independence.

## THE TREE OF LIBERTY

Socialism is an ideology based on the idea of unity. Liberty, on the other hand, is based on the idea of harmony.

Liberty is like a tree. It is rooted in the spirit but, in addition to the spiritual joys which it gives, it also brings forth many economic pleasantries like caviar and fancy cars and TV. Economic fruits grow on the ends of the twigs of this tree of liberty, but they are superficial fruits of liberty, rather than the essence of liberty itself.

Socialism exists as a parasite feeding on the fruits of liberty. It feeds by means of ownership or control of the means of production, and by confiscation of the product itself. It controls your actions and takes from you what you have produced. And the agency which administers this program of unity is a political monopoly.

Dean Roscoe Pound once told the story of a pickpocket who wandered into a church service. The sermon was on charity. He was so moved by the message that he picked the pockets of all within reach and put it into the collection plate. Socialism is like that. The motive may seem charitable enough, but the method denies any virtue in the motive.

Since socialism lives on what has already been produced by free men, it would die if this parasitic connection were severed. It would die without access to funds to fuel its continued operation. And that source of funds feeding socialism is my next point.

#### TAXES AND SLAVERY

A few days ago you filled out your income tax report, I presume. If you are an average citizen of the United States, taxes in all forms — evident and hidden — for all units of government took 36 per cent of your yearly income for the latest year of available figures.

Expressed another way, you had to work for the government from the first of January until 1:48 p.m. on May 10; then for the remainder of the year you were free to work for yourself.

The point of this is to emphasize that taxes are the unitary device by which socialism is sustained. They sustain socialism both within the country and also abroad, to a considerable extent.

Let us go back in history for a minute to gain perspective on this modern form of socialistic unity. We know that slavery was once openly and clearly labeled as such. It is said that in the Ancient World about a third of the population were slaves — a figure, incidentally, that was swelled by war and reduced by peace. The new slave was the victim of capture in a physical sense, and everyone knew when he was enslaved. It might be observed, factiously, that "slave running" is an appropriate way to describe the slave trade of old because it was in some respects like a track meet. The slaves that were brought over here must have been those who were the poorest runners among their tribesmen in those African villages, or perhaps they were the ones who had sore feet that day.

The feature of this ancient slavery that especially interests us here is the way it relates to the United Nations in an economic sense. On the stage of history long before the advent of Karl Marx, slavery clearly embodied the concept for which Marx has since been given undue credit, as an original idea namely the policy of: "From each (slave) according to his ability, to each (slave) according to his need." This portrays a condition of socialistic unity under each slave master. The master, not the slave, decides all questions of "ability" and "need." Else what are the chains for?

Whatever the slave received in food and other things were given to him for reasons other than because of his having produced them and thereby deserving their ownership as a matter of rights. These things were doled out to him by the master for another reason. The master wanted him ready to produce again on the morrow, and knew that a starved man produces nothing. The master gave the slave these things in the same way and for the same reason that he fed the horse in preparation for tomorrow's plowing.

Slavery in some parts of the world then gave way to serfdom. Some details of the arrangement were changed, but not its fundamentals. It was still the policy of socialism: From each (serf) according to his ability, to each (serf) according to his need. And who de-

cided all questions of "ability" and "need"? The serf lord, not the serf, decided them. We must not be confused by the fact that in Prussia centuries ago there arose a practice of allowing the serf to work for himself two days of the week. This was really like untethering one's horse for a time so that he may graze in the glen as he desires. We should not become confused, either, by the fact that serfs were not bought and sold individually. They were still serfs just the same, being bought and sold as a group "with the estate." And their children were born into hereditary serfdom.

These processes have in more recent times taken on a still different name. They have appeared under a new cloak. Marx called it socialism. Others call it communism. Still others call it some sort of Deal. But under whatever name, the key is still this policy of economic unity: From each according to his ability, to each according to his need. And the master, by whatever title and whatever process of becoming enthroned, decides matters of "ability" and "need." The subordinate has no more real authority over himself in these matters than did the slave or the serf or the horse.

The device used under this new cloak of disguise to administer the transfers between "ability" and "need" is that of taxation. The government's power to tax is the modern counterpart of slavery and serfdom, though much more disguised in this respect.

Since this is so vital to my theme, I want to explore more thoroughly this similarity between the power to tax and ancient slavery. I want to compare them as to the unitary aspect: From him according to his ability, to him according to his need.

Who sets the amount of the tax, the government taker or the taxpayer? The government, of course, in meeting assembled yearly for the purpose — a meeting at which you, as the taxpayer, have no right to cast even one lone vote! Your plight in this respect is like that of the slave and the serf.

If the taxpayer doesn't approve of the amount of the tax, who is empowered to render the final decision as to "justice" in the matter, the taxpayer or the government taker? The government, of course. It is a "court of justice" that passes judgment on its own acts.

Who decides what shall be done with the money collected in taxes, the taxpayer or the government taker? The government, of course, as did the slavemaster and the serf lord.

Is there any limit, in the sense of recognized personal rights, to the amount of the tax to be taken at any time in the future? None whatever. By exactly the same process which now takes 36 cents of your earned dollar, the entire dollar can be taken. In Britain they have been taking in taxes all that some persons earn, and even more. This has happened even in our own country at times. Any restraint from taking all of it is no more than the restraint of political expediency, not a recognition of personal rights of the citizen as a really free individual.

The popular cliche that we, the people, are the government blinds some persons to their plight. If we are really governing ourselves, why employ a police force as the



handmaiden of the revenue agent? Government is but a separate group of persons who, however selected and however buttressed by laws, govern the remainder of the people. In this respect it makes no difference whether those who rule came to office under hereditary kingship, military conquest, political conquest, or whatnot. The process is not altered by its name, nor by the title of the person who wears the crown. Slavery is no less slavery for any of these reasons; nor serfdom; nor modern socialism; nor the unity of a United Nations.

The 36 cents taken from you in taxes, in part to finance the United Nations, is what maintains the "unity of socialism" by which free men are prevented from dealing voluntarily with one another in that harmony of mutual advantage.

It would be possible for me to go on and document this connection between taxes and international socialism by picking figure after figure from the budget of the United Nations and its numerous subordinate branches — financed in large part by the United States government. But there is not time for such detail. You can look up these facts for yourself. But when you do you will find embodied in your 36 cent tax load the tap root of world socialism which in that way feeds on the fruits of freedom from the more prosperous nations of the world. This parasitic economic attachment must be severed in order to regain our freedom which has been surrendered in the name of unity under an international governmental master — socialistic unity.

To many persons this analysis may seem to advocate something anti-social, perhaps even un-American. To them I would recommend another reading of the Declaration of Independence. And I would commend to serious thought man's fundamental right as defined a few years ago by David A. Simmons, one-time President of the American Bar Association and also Consultant in 1945 to the United States Delegation at the United Nations Conference on International Organization here in San Fran-

cisco. He said:

"Man's fundamental right: is the right to be let alone."

Observance of this fundamental right does not preclude any form or degree of lawful voluntary cooperation among free men. It allows a maximum of harmony among variable mankind.

In closing I want to relate a personal experience. One Sunday shortly before April 15, while I was working on my income tax, I was in quite an unsocial mood toward my seven year old son. At dinner that night he asked me to explain this income tax business, which put fathers in such a bad mood. So I explained it at length, being full of the subject from the complexities of this new "simplified tax form." He listened intently to my explanation and then when I finished exclaimed: "Holy Cow! I hope I never grow up!"

At first we thought this comment amusing. But on second thought it seemed more sobering. Three-quarters of a century ago his maternal grandfather, as a teenager, had come alone to the United States in order to escape the socialism of Germany under Bismarck. He came to a new land to gain freedom. Now, in this "land of the free," his grandson hates to grow up and face this unity of socialistic finance. Where will coming generations be able to go to find freedom if we lose it here, and if the United Nations continues to grow in world power?

Let me offer, in condensed form, this alternative to the United Nations as an objective:

**Unity in the eyes of God, harmony in the affairs of man.**

# The United Nations vs. The United States

By DR. J. ORVAL HATTS

DR. J. ORVAL HATTS, author of the book "The Great Nations Disarm," formerly chairman, substitute by Justice Robert Brewster Johnson, chairman of the UN Security Committee and former chairman, the League of Nations Disarmament Commission. He has taught Disarmament in Harvard and Cornell Colleges and Harvard Law School as professor and chairman of the Disarmament and International Relations Department at Cornell.

Many Americans subscribe to the Great Disarmament Network belief that it is the job and duty of society and government to do more to eliminate war as there is little disarmament.

First, there is the standard argument that the UN is a federalization like those Soviet Union and that it can manipulate peace while serving the interests of the world as any Federal Government can serve the same function.

Second, we have the argument that simpler or harder and more severe the UN becomes since by (a) providing a "world force" for maintaining world conditions and (b) indicating means and the timing within which each and individual government among the intergovernmental organizations can act.

What does it mean? we could well wonder? And remember, that the UN will be expandable and in a few hundred million years yet there is a few billion of them around the earth? What kind of world would this?

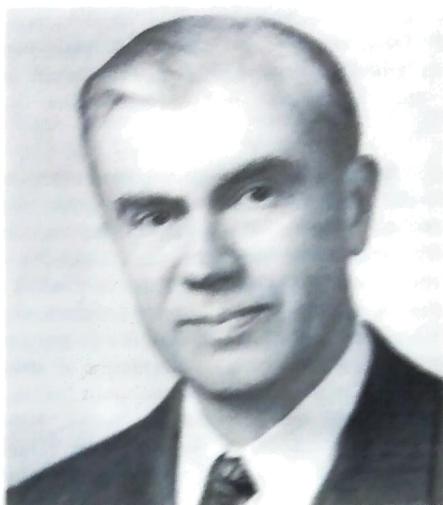
But imagine the UN were inactive or is ineffective under a new national organization and it fails to maintain the status of external sovereignty which has become a hallmark of most states instead of a guarantee?

Third, that the UN will provide insurance in case of war between, say, two Great British Commonwealth nations that are prepared a week or month of annihilating from the UN because of the latter's neutrality, we could never expect to negotiate so in the world's case except for peace.

Or, that the argument will say, is no definitely and clearly against the function as it is at least to think the government of the Great Nations as the world's most severe instrument of military collaboration.

## Is the U.S. Not Better Like the UN?

Well, then let us compare the Great Nations with the Federal Government of these United States. What a different organization this must depend on how it is put together. The UN can function like the Federal Government of these American Union only if it is organized in the same political structure as the UN is constructed and it can survive peace in the world as the American system of government has in the main failed to keep peace among the States of this Union?



It is easier that question let us suppose that our own Union had fought it the same way as did the United Nations. Suppose for example that a few years before the War for Independence, the Iroquois Indians — who were at that time — had conquered Pennsylvania taken over its government established a communist dictatorship made Iroquois communists of all the whites as far as they could putting into slave labor camps all who opposed them suppose further that during the war with Britain these same Iroquois savages had won it in the people of New Jersey and Maryland taking control of the governments in those States as the Soviet communists seized Czechoslovakia Poland and other European countries during World War II.

Suppose also that at the end of the war with Britain the rebellion of Ethan Allen and his followers in Massachusetts had succeeded and that these "rebels" had established a socialist government in that State.

Finally let us suppose that the Yorkers who tried to seize land and power in New Hampshire had defeated the Green Mountain Boys and had set up a Tory dictatorship in that area.

In that case these American states would have re-united many of those which helped form the United Nations and which help out today. What kind of federation would such States have established?

First, we may be sure that the Iroquois and other Indians would not have agreed to a house of representatives chosen by the people in free elections, nor to a senate elected by state legislatures instead, they would have had all Federal representatives appointed by the heads of the state governments as are the delegates in the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

Second, we may be sure that there would have been a Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution, and a provision guaranteeing a republican form of government in the people of every State. There would have been no

Federal protection of every American's right to trade travel and communicate freely across the borders of the member States of this Union.

Third, the troquois communists and other socialist governments would have insisted that their agents get leading posts as heads of various departments in the Federal Government, for they would have worked in and with this Government only as they could use it to further their communist and socialist aims throughout the Union.

From its very beginning, therefore, the American Government would have been an agency, not for protecting individual freedom, but for promoting socialist ideas and controls in every State in this Union. Our Federal Constitution would have provided, as the United Nations Charter does, that the United States governments — national, state and local — might take the people's property in order to give them "higher standards of living" and "conditions of social and economic progress," or to provide "full employment" and to solve all "social, health, and related problems." Each of the American States would have pledged itself — as does each member government of the UN — "to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the organization" to further these socialist policies.

With this unlimited power and such aims, the Federal Administration and the State governments would long ago have had the socialist Welfare State in full bloom in this country, and today Americans would be as unproductive and demoralized as the people of the Old World countries from which we or our ancestors once fled.

Not would our Federal Union have survived. For socialist governments are not peaceable. By means of high taxes and controls they prevent the free trade, free travel and communication necessary for understanding, goodwill and lasting peace among men. In addition, socialist governments deliberately foster fear of foreigners and antagonism towards them as an excuse for maintaining big armies to control their own subjects.

From the outset the relations between the American States would have been like those of today's cold war between the communist and non-communist governments — if these United States had begun like the United Nations. The lack of constitutional restraints on government, and the use of the Federal agencies to subvert the constitutions of the freer States, would have fostered the big governments that prevent human cooperation and that conscript men for war. Very soon these United States would have exploded and become just another Old World group of warring governments and distrusted, frightened, hating people.

This great American Union endured, not because the States surrendered their independence, but because both State and Federal governments protected individual freedom. The secret of its strength was not the might of a Federal army and police force, but the enterprise and voluntary cooperation of free citizens.

True, the Federal Constitution forbade the States to "coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post facto law, or law impairing

the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility."

But these and other constitutional restraints on the State governments were designed in almost every case to secure and protect the rights of individuals. They established individual freedom within the Union, including freedom from State tyranny.

One of these essential restraints was the provision that "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government . . ." Without this article the Union could not have survived, for no central authority could have kept peace among despotic State governments.

And along with the Federal restraints on the State governments, the Founding Fathers put many constitutional restraints on the Federal Government. As a result, during the early history of the Union, the Federal authority was so weak that any of the larger States could have broken away if its citizens had wished to do so. And the more populous States, with more prosperous citizens, would most certainly have withdrawn from the Union had not the Constitution protected them against Federal policies designed to redistribute their wealth among the smaller or more "backward" States.

What held the Union together in those days were the common interests which Americans developed as they used their freedom to come and go across State lines, to work and trade anywhere in the Union, and to communicate with one another by any means (except a private postal system).

True, some of the United Nations agencies, for example, the International Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund, promise to promote freer trade, travel and communication between nations. Actually, they do nothing of the sort. International agreements made through these agencies regularly contain loopholes which permit each government to continue its restrictions at will. More than this, these agreements provide new means and excuses for extending bureaucratic control over world trade and exchange, and thereby raise new barriers to international cooperation. This is not the way to peace and prosperity, but to conflict and poverty. It was not Federal regulation of interstate trade, but the comparative freedom from all government interference that enabled Americans to develop the vast interstate commerce which binds us together and gives the nation its strength.

Through this interstate exchange of services, ideas and populations, Americans developed the goodwill and interstate friendships that choked out the weeds of fear and hostility.

And when the peace among these United States was broken by the war of 1861-65, it was not because of weakness in the Federal Government, but because of private and public violations of individual rights. The Constitution of 1789 did not secure the rights of everyone who lived in these States. Article IV, Section 2, for example, provided for return of runaway slaves to their masters, and thereby required every American official in every State to help hold some men in bondage. Nor did the Constitution guard against abuse of Federal authority in tariff policy.

The result of these and other infringements of freedom was the bloodiest war in American history, a war



from which this Union has not yet recovered. The Federal Government had military forces in 1861, but this did not prevent war. In fact, the most brilliant Federal commander resigned his commission to lead the rebel forces. His name was Robert E. Lee.

Today, it is true, the Federal Government of this Union has vast military might, and it is using its authority to redistribute wealth between the States and internationally in ways that would have caused immediate breakdown of the Union in its first half century. Seeing this, some persons conclude that this military might and the welfare-state policies are what hold the Union together.

They forget that nowhere else in the world are 165,000,000 human beings still so free to produce, exchange their goods and services, travel and communicate with one another over so great an area and among so many persons who have become enterprising and prosperous in freedom in the past.

If Americans were not more free than the people of Europe, Asia or Africa, their Union would soon go the way of the empires which in the past briefly united warring governments on those continents. The welfare-state policies do not strengthen the American Union, but weaken it.

I know that many Americans today do not understand this. They, like most people of the Old World, do not see how welfare-state policies infringe individual rights, diminish freedom, and cause moral, economic and political decay. They do not see that greed for power disguises itself as altruism. They do not see how the welfare-state burdens and controls prevent individuals from striving to get new and better goods than those the government now takes from some to give to others. Such persons sincerely believe, with the founders of the United Nations, that men can foster "friendly and peaceful relations" among other persons by using the State's physical, police force upon them to redistribute their wealth, dictate their work, their saving and their spending, and manage their social relationships and personal habits.

#### An Ancient Evil

But humans have tried this collectivist method for thousands of years, everywhere in the world including America. They looked to their governments for guidance and help as young children look to their parents. So kings and lords, councils and parliaments, used government force to compel the rich to help the poor and to tax the more productive for the supposed benefit of the less efficient. They tried to plan and order men's lives much as communists and socialist today try to establish what they called the "planned society". The result, universally was stagnation and poverty.

This was the reason that so much of the Western World remained stagnant, from the early days of the Roman Empire until the 18th-19th centuries. It was the reason that the great civilization of ancient China, once vibrant with freedom, became despotic, static and poor. Collectivist modes of living have held countless clans and tribes in a state of savagery or barbarism for thousands of years.

Until we realize this fact — until we realize that

collectivism is a very ancient and widespread evil of which modern Marxian "Communism" is only a particularly virulent form — we are likely to make little headway in combating it. For it will continue to pop up in new forms and under new labels until people generally recognize its fundamental nature and evil.

Some people think that Karl Marx invented communism, and that it is something new in the world.

But Marx merely used big new words to express very ancient fallacies. The modern communist is only a particularly consistent-collectivist. He is a socialist in a hurry. Such Communist Party members represent only a small fraction of the collectivist forces at work in the world. They could do little without the help of the vastly more numerous socialists and socialist "liberals" if we could dump every Communist Party member and agent into the middle of the ocean, it would make little difference in the rate at which America and other countries move toward collectivism or away from it.

The fact is that we find collectivist threads in the thought and action of everyone: tendencies to interfere in other persons' lives, to relieve them of responsibility for their own conduct, and to compel them to live as we think proper or right.

How many parents, for example, coddle and dictate to their children, not merely while the children are helpless and in need of care, but long after they are grown! Such private, family collectivism can be as great an evil as state socialism, or communism, as it has been in China for centuries. In fact, private collectivism leads directly to despotic government and to socialism by destroying the sense of individual responsibility and the desire for personal independence.

We need generous charity in caring for the helpless. We should be liberal and friendly in mutual aid. Free persons discover this. That is why they form strong societies.

But when giving reduces an individual's incentive to use whatever powers he has to care for himself and to make generous return for what he receives, it robs him of motive force he needs to achieve and become what the Creator designed him for. It unfits him for freedom and makes him fear it. He longs for a master, or leader, to take dominion over him. Thus it is easy for the power-seekers to unite the collectivists and their victims in support of paternalistic, statist, or socialist policies in government.

We should know also that military collectivism has the same demoralizing effects as economic collectivism. In other words, when we use government force to compel some men to fight for others — or even to fight in self-defense — we bring about the same demoralizing effects as when we use force to make them charitable, industrious or thrifty. Such use of force for military purposes destroys the individual's sense of responsibility and his will to defend his country as forced labor destroys the slave's sense of responsibility and will in earning his living. Instead of building patriotism, conscription makes men indifferent to the call of duty or even rebellious and disloyal.

Communism is merely a hard core of the collectivist

thought and action that corrupts and demoralizes mankind everywhere today and that has been a social plague throughout human history. One of the leading centers for this collectivism, both in the more virulent form of communism and in the milder guise of socialist "liberalism," is the United Nations. The men who organized this international bureaucracy and who now operate it have always intended that it should be the heart of a socialist world "commonwealth" — a world state which shall control the world's industry and trade, and which shall treat all wealth as the common property of all mankind.

True, the United Nations communists and socialist "liberals" have not been able to agree on military policy or police action by the U.N. They are working towards such agreement, and the "Uniting for Peace" Resolution sponsored by the United States government is an important step towards giving the UN its own weapons and police force, with authority to use them despite the veto of any government. But so far the coercive force of the UN has come mainly from these United States. American collectivists have used the treaty clause of our Federal Constitution to subvert our form of government, and they have thus seized authority which they use to enforce the mandates and levies of the world state. To a much lesser extent the socialists of other countries use the police and military forces of their own governments to do the same thing. But so far the independent military operations of the UN have been limited by the practical difficulty of getting the member governments to agree on the use to be made of any military forces placed at its disposal.

On another matter, however, these UN members have been able to agree. That is in regard to the spending of money. No matter how much money the UN gets, its officials manage to work out plans for spending it.

Some of these funds they spend on themselves — for their own salaries, travel and propaganda. Some of it they give to their home governments to spend. Some they give to non-member governments which do what they give to the UN socialists consider right and proper.

Of course, the UN delegates and officials squabble a great deal among themselves over the distribution of this money. Such squabbling, in fact, is one of the chief activities of the UN. Its multitude of commissions and committees debate endlessly over what "needs" their subordinates shall study and report upon, how much this or that agency shall give or lend for one purpose or another, and how they can more effectively propagandize taxpayers (especially American taxpayers) on behalf of UN expenditures and loans.

But since UN officials must pay their bills just like anyone else in order to maintain their credit, they do finally reach agreement on the spending — often by agreeing to spend more than is currently on hand in the wellfounded faith that the United States Government will make up the deficit.

The aim and effect of this spending, everywhere and always, is to promote increased government ownership and control, which is legalized coercion. For example, the World Bank has financed nearly half of the electric power development in Mexico. This means that it has promoted government ownership of power in that coun-

try, and that it holds a mortgage on half of Mexico's total power industry. Such industries always operate at a deficit, which must be met by further burdens and restraints on the voluntary, self-starting, self-financing efforts of private enterprise. Thus the UN implants and stimulates socialist cancers such as have caused the generation and death of one civilization after another in the past and which now threaten to stop human progress once again, perhaps forever.

#### A Sound-Stage for Politicians

Much has been made of the fallacious notion that the UN is a kind of "world forum," or "town meeting of the world," where governments may thresh out their differences and reach agreement without war.

But we should remember that the delegates to the UN are hired agents of the governments which appoint them. They can say and do only what those governments tell them to say and do. Therefore, the work of the UN Assembly is merely to publicize the very same "campaign oratory" which the member governments are continuously publicizing at home and abroad by every other means at their command—except that the UN delegates have less freedom of speech than they would have at home in their own countries.

When governments want to compromise their differences peaceably, they quietly arrange for private conferences of interested parties, together with agents of allies who may be acting as mediators. There they can explore the real aims and find out what concessions are necessary for peace. Since most of the governments which might make war have ambassadors and other agents in all of the other important countries, it is easy to arrange such conferences at a moment's notice.

The big public conferences so popular since World War I are not primarily for the purpose of reaching agreement among the various governments, but for the purpose of building the political prestige of the participants at home. There is no other way in which a politician can get more favorable publicity than by taking part in a "high level" international conference supposedly called to resolve differences between governments and promote peace. Whether he uses the opportunity for denouncing opposing governments or for proclaiming his own country's love of peace, the columns of free newspaper publicity at home are worth millions of dollars in campaign expenditures or political "education." Such posturing and preaching does more to arouse chauvinistic passions than to resolve differences.

The way to peace is very different, therefore, from the way of the UN and its related international agencies for promoting socialism. Peace means absence of violence. It means confining use of force to the one purpose it can serve in human relations, and that is to neutralize the aggressive use of force by others. By means of force a man can hold an enemy at bay, or destroy him altogether. But we cannot by use of force or threat of force win the peaceful cooperation that we need for promoting human welfare and prosperity.

#### When America Caused Revolutions

The real road to peace and progress has been demonstrated on this continent. These United States have been United Nations — one that works. Here people of every

creed and nationality have learned to live and work together in peace not because of the overpowering might of a strong central government, but because all government was so limited that it could do little more than check violence and insurrection, and because the citizens were consequently free to develop the peaceful cooperation necessary for understanding and goodwill. The fact that the Federal Constitution permitted slavery was a near fatal error, and the methods used to abolish it strained the Union to the breaking point. Northerners have much to repent in their policies towards the States of the South and all of us are still paying heavily for the mistakes of both sides in the events leading up to the Civil War and in the carpetbagging era which followed. Fortunately our State and Federal Constitutions preserved so much freedom that, despite the Civil War, Americans made more rapid progress in peaceful cooperation than the people of any other country.

Few Americans realize how revolutionary was the effect of this example upon the rest of the world. From 1789 to 1917 the American form of government was the chief political influence on this planet. By the sheer force of its example without any "Voice of America" or United States Information Service, without any Marshall Plan or official goodwill tours, America toppled one tyranny after another and caused a reorganization of most of the governments of the world.

Some Americans volunteered in political and military efforts against foreign tyrannies just as lovers of freedom came to America to fight against Britain in the War for Independence. But for the most part, the people of foreign countries organized and fought their own battles for freedom, as in France, Turkey, the Balkans, China, and Russia. When the United States Government intervened, as in the West Indies and in European conflicts, I believe it did the cause of freedom more harm than good.

Certainly the main force behind the growing desire for freedom and the will to achieve it in the 19th century was not anything like the "Voice of America" or a program of foreign bribes and subsidies misnamed "foreign aid." Instead, the revolutionary force was an idea — the idea of individual responsibility and of limited government, and that idea kept the American government from trying to set up a political "Voice of America" or a program of foreign subsidies even while it inspired people in other lands to put new restraints on their own rulers.

Today the Voice of America, the World Bank and the Monetary Fund, the Technical Assistance Program, the U. S. Import Export Bank and a host of other socialist agencies which the United States Government supports have nearly erased the world's understanding of what made America prosperous, strong and generous.

More than this, we have gone so far in adopting the Marxian program that people everywhere are now saying that our present lead in levels of living is due only to our natural resources and a sparser population. We find even our own politicians saying that communist policies are necessary to maintain prosperity, as, for example, the socialist policies of public housing, FHA guarantees of mortgages, in heritage taxes and high surtaxes on incomes to redistribute buying power.

By such policies, and by use of a Voice of America

and its "foreign aid" program to promote similar policies in foreign countries, our Washington Administration is now actually doing more to promote socialism, or communism, in the world at large than the paid agents of Soviet Russia. United States participation in the UN is of this socialist effort, and it is especially effective because it is sold to Americans as the way to peace, which we all want.

In order to reverse this march toward socialism, conflict and war, we must first stop the subversion of the United States Constitution by treaties and executive agreements. This means adopting the proposed Bricker Amendment and seeing to it that this constitutional amendment is respected by the courts.

#### Restore the Sovereignty of the Individual!

Then we must somehow regain our freedom in America so that the world may once again know what freedom means and see what free persons can do. In fact, we must regain that freedom if we are to avoid disaster and the disintegration of our own society.

It may be that the collectivist reaction in this country has gone so far that we have already passed the point of no-return. Government barriers to enterprise and its subsidies for inefficiency, idleness and imprudence have so demoralized and corrupted millions of Americans that they seem to care for little but the ease and pleasures of the moment. Such persons are like the dehumanized multitudes of ancient Rome who, corrupted by the free bread and circuses, no longer cared to defend their freedom, but instead sold themselves into slavery and serfdom in the vain hope that they could thus gain security. The Dark Ages followed, an era of animal-like poverty and strife. Now again this moral degeneration is undermining our financial, industrial and political institutions.

How to regain our lost freedom and avoid a fatal debacle is therefore the greater problem of which UN collectivism is but a segment. We cannot here deal with that master problem in detail, but we must keep it in mind as we discuss the United Nations so that we do not lose sight of our main goal.

That goal is not to preseve or maintain the "sovereignty" of any government, but to restore to the individual citizen the sovereignty which governments everywhere are usurping from him.

The Founding Fathers of this country never intended that either the Federal authority or the State governments should be "sovereign." Most of them intended to give government only a delegated and provisional authority to protect the inalienable, God-given rights of the individual — the rights to life, liberty and property. They regarded government officials as servants, not masters, and they tried so to curb these servants by constitutional restraints that the people would always remain sovereign over their governments. They did their work well, but they could not provide against the ignorance of a later generation which failed to recognize demagogues and traitors for what they were.

As I said, we cannot here outline any comprehensive program for regaining the sovereignty which government in these United States has usurped from the citizens, but one point I do wish to stress. This point is that we must

live by the moral code of free persons even as we work to win back our freedom from its enemies. By this I mean that we cannot use fraud or force to teach the value of freedom. Men of illwill cannot achieve peace

#### "Do Good to Them that Hate You"

We may use violence to stop another person from assaulting us or robbing us, whether he does it in the name of the "common good" or for his own gain. We may hold him at bay, chase him away, or catch and imprison him by force. We may even destroy him by force. But we cannot by means of force make anyone want to join us in peaceful cooperation. For this we must rely on the influence of example and persuasion, and we must offer him some good that he wants.

This, I believe, is the meaning of the injunction to "return good for evil." By returning evil for evil we may repulse an attack. That may give us a chance to try other methods, but it does not reduce enmity. We win the goodwill and mutual aid we need for freedom peace and progress only as we do good even to our enemies. As we speak kindly and offer food to a snarling animal we wish to tame, so we must return good for evil to snarling humans if we are to win their cooperation. In short, the only effective way to freedom and peace is the way of goodwill and the Golden Rule, not the way of hatred and retaliation.

At best, violence or threat of violence is only a temporary and limited defense against aggression. It is not a final solution because as long as we must use force or threat of force to hold an enemy in check, we ourselves are not free or secure. The prisoner keeps his jailors in sterile servitude even as they confine him. Fear of Soviet Russia today holds millions of Americans in unproductive military service and subjects everyone to heavy tax levies for weapons of defense. Who can be free and at peace while any government keeps its agents busy promoting suspicion, hatred and violence throughout the world?

#### Wanted: More Light, Less Heat

But as I have already pointed out, the evil ideas, aims and policies of communism are not confined to any one nation, religion or race. Communism is merely a modern term for complete collectivism, and collectivism means meddling in other people's lives for their supposed benefit or the benefit of "society." It means trying to force them, bully them or browbeat them into our own ways of thinking and living. It means trying to compel others to work, save, play, give, worship or fight as we think best.

Probably everyone at times has been guilty of such conduct, and it takes a lifetime of study and self-discipline for anyone to detect and bring under control his own meddling impulses, which never entirely die away. It is so wide-spread and common that few persons recognize the evil results of many of its most virulent forms. They therefore attribute these evils to particular persons and governments, or to a particular race, religion or nationality. They think to eliminate these evils by eliminating or isolating those supposed sources, not realizing that the source is in ideas and policies as ancient and as widespread as the human race.

For this reason, if we would stop the present day reaction, or descent, into collectivism, we must try to change people's ideas rather than try to kill off or isolate a particular group of collectivists. For there can be no lasting peace or freedom as long as most persons throughout the world seek to levy tribute on one another or to dictate to others how they shall work, with whom they shall trade, how they shall spend their money, how they shall educate their children, what prices they may or must ask for their services or what prices they shall pay for the services of others. Every government in the world is more or less committed to these policies because the vast majority of people everywhere are — and always have been — more or less collectivistic and domineering in thought and action.

In defending our freedom from our collectivist enemies in the United Nations, therefore, we should remember that they know not what they do, and that in this regard none of us has been without sin. The agents and supporters of the UN are only pursuing worldwide the same foolish policies which we see locally in municipal waterworks and parking lots, or nationally in public housing projects and farm subsidies.

Hating those who advocate or execute these and other collectivistic policies does no one any good. Hate is a poison. It shortens the life and reduces the effectiveness of the hater while it repulses his friends and arouses his enemies.

To love one's neighbor or enemy does not mean to condone his evil-doing, but neither does it mean hating him, regarding him as incurable, or suspecting him always of nothing but evil. And once we realize how widespread are the disease germs of collectivism, we may find it easier to extend the compassionate and enlightened aid that will help those who have become victims of this social plague. The most tragic of these victims, those most in need of rescue, are the communists and their fellow-travelers.

This does not mean that we should hire a communist teacher for our children any more than our compassion for a typhoid carrier should lead us to employ one as a cook or nurse. It does not mean that we should cease to point out and combat socialism in all its many forms any more than sympathy for cancer victims should cause us to stop research and education in regard to tumors.

What is needed most of all, however, in combating wrong ideas and policies, as in combating disease, is more understanding and goodwill rather than more indignation and antagonism; and when we seek to arouse emotions, let us appeal to those which inspire a desire for cooperation rather than fear of retaliation.

As I see it, the Golden Rule is a short statement of moral law, and obedience to that law is necessary for all human life and progress. It is not a code that applies only in utopia, but the way of all human betterment.

None of us knows all that this law requires of us, but we can grow in this understanding as we devote our lives to study and practice of it. Then, I believe, we shall be doing all we can to promote freedom and peace.

# Military Aspects Of The United Nations Relationship

By DR. ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN

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Dr. Bouscaren was a Major in the Marine Air Corps. with Pacific service and has received two Distinguished Flying Crosses.

Mr. Chairman, my sincere thanks to you. It is a great pleasure to be back in this lovely city and see all the friends that I had when it was my privilege to live in the sovereign state of California. I live in Wisconsin now, where I have many friends too and I might say that there are a lot of people in that state that are lying kind of low about certain of those friends. I don't see any reason to lie low in connection with some of those people. And I will say here and at any other time that I am proud to know the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and I think that — (Applause) — and I think that although the press has been very hostile to him that he and his cause will be vindicated.

This evening I have been asked to talk to you on the subject of the military aspects of the United States — United Nations relationship.

It was an assumption of the founders of the United Nations that an aggressor state would not be a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Thus, the United Nations in this respect contains the internal contradiction of being an organization dedicated to stop aggression and yet having the aggressor and his satellites as respected members of this very same organization.

The only time that the United Nations acted under Section 7 of the Charter, which is the heart of the Charter, and particularly under Article 41 and 42 of the Charter, which called for the application of sanctions against aggression — the only time the United Nations so acted was on the occasion of the Communist attack in Korea in June of 1950. And the Security Council acted at that time at the end of June and the beginning of July because it so happened that the Soviet representative was absent from Security Council in protest of the fact that the representative of the Republic of China, (who I might



say is the most intelligent man that I know at the United Nations and one of the very few men that make any sense at the United Nations.)

(Applause.)

And I am speaking of Dr. T. F. "Tsiang", Chinese Nationalist representative, a most magnificent and courageous man, even when his alleged friends are trying to stab him in the back.

He was presiding and the Soviet government was not present in protest of his position at that time.

Now, how did the United States and the United Nations act in this only instance in which Chapter 7 and Article 41 and 42 were invoked?

There was some indication of how certain powerful elements within the United Nations were going to try to force our hand before the fighting even started. For example, the British government through its spokesman, Malcolm MacDonald, the High Commissioner in Malaya, after holding conferences with Ambassador Philip Jessup in Tokyo informed General "Gabriel Almond" of General MacArthur's staff that the United States and Great Britain had agreed to recognize Red China in January of 1950 and that the reason that they weren't going to recognize Red China immediately was because of the embarrassing incident involving Consul General Angus Ward. You may remember that in December of 1949 Angus Ward, the American Consul General in Mukden, was kidnapped by the Chinese Communists and very badly mistreated. All of the evidence indicates that if this had not occurred the United States would have recognized Communist China in January of 1950. Philip Jessup told the same thing to Admiral Joy, to Stratemeyer, to Louis Fortier, MacArthur's intelligence chief, and

a number of other people in Tokyo, in December of 1949.

Now, when the attack came, the first action of the United Nations was that of the 27th of June, in which the United Nations resolved that all U. N. members should help the Republic of Korea and refrain from helping the Communist enemy.

Now let's take a look at the record and see just what was the behavior of the United Nations in carrying out this resolution. Fourteen U. N. members helped the Republic of Korea in one way or another. Fifteen U. N. members directly helped the Communist enemy. More U. N. members helped the Communist enemy than helped the Republic of Korea.

But, looking at the casualties percentage-wise we can see that we, the United States and our best ally at that time, the Republic of Korea, contributed ninety-seven percent of the blood casualties and our U.N. allies, such as they were, contributed three percent.

Now I call to your attention Article 2, Section 5 of the Charter which provides that all members of the United Nations shall carry out the decisions taken by the organization in the enforcement of Chapter 7, and Article 6 which calls for the expulsion of U.N. members who fail to so act. The only government during the entire Korean War that suggested that we invoke these provisions of the Charter against the Soviet Union and the satellites was the Republic of China. And if received no support whatsoever from any other delegation at the United Nations.

When the Communists attacked there was unanimity among our Far Eastern commanders at that time and subsequently that we should have accepted the free offer of manpower made by the Republic of China, at that time located and still located on Formosa. Many people forget that the Republic of China is a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and it offered to give more help to us and our Korean allies than all of our other U. N. allies put together. Nevertheless the United States, largely because of British pressure, rejected the free manpower offer.

Not only that, but the United States sent the Seventh Fleet into the Straits of Formosa, which among other things prevented the Chinese Nationalists from further blockading the Chinese Communists and it also released the Third and Fourth Chinese Communist Army from opposite Formosa to go up into Manchuria and later into Korea to kill American boys.

General MacArthur commented on this situation in the following language. "This order," he says, "the order to send the Seventh Fleet into the Straits of Formosa, issued in June of 1950 proved to be a fundamental error, which has contaminated the entire Far Eastern situation. Its restriction upon the activities of the Free Chinese gave public notice that the Chinese Reds were to enjoy unprecedented sanctuary in the struggle for Asia between the forces of Communism and those of the Free World. It was undoubtedly this decision with its implications which emboldened the Chinese Communist forces to intervene in increasing strength in Indo-China, in Korea, in Tibet. Actually it was this protection which permitted the transfer of the very Communist Armies assigned to the defense of the coast of Central China for the attack

upon our forces in Korea. Indeed, the concept of such a sanctuary, and immunity, unquestionably predominantly influenced Red China to enter the Korean conflict after the North Korean Armies had been destroyed. For in the absence of assurance that his places of attack and lines of supply to his rear would be safe, no military commander lacking both naval force and air cover would have permitted large forces to cross the Yalu River."

On October the 7th of 1950, the United Nations took its next action, which was to vote almost unanimously to unify Korea and to necessarily therefore expel the Communist forces from North Korea.

General MacArthur carrying out this command, proceeded to liberate Korea, but not until certain road blocks had been thrown in his path by what turned out to be a hostile majority in the United Nations, which was not sincerely interested in seeing the war won to its victory.

Now at the time of the Communist advance towards Pusan the American and Korean forces were very much on the defensive and it looked like the Communists might conceivably win the war. The position of the American and Korean forces in Pusan and then the subsequent electrifying change in the course of events caused by MacArthur's brilliant Inchon landing is very well described by General MacArthur in the following words. He is talking now about the situation in Pusan, those black days when the Communists appeared to be winning the war. "The only predictions from Washington at that time warned of impending military disaster. Then too, our ammunition was critically short. As I recall, General Walker at one stage was down to five rounds per gun. His heroically successful efforts, under unparalleled shortages of all sorts constituted an amazing military exploit. Disaster was avoided by the Inchon operation. An enveloping movement designed to destroy the enemy's supply network, which was only grudgingly approved on my desperate insistence over the most serious professional doubts from higher authorities." He is speaking here of General Marshall and General Bradley. "The North Korean Army, with its supply cut off disintegrated and was practically destroyed. By the latter part of October, the capitol of Dyonyong was captured. These events completely transformed the situation from pessimism to optimism. This was the golden moment to translate military victory to a politically advantageous peace. Success in war involves military as well as political consideration. For the sacrifice leading to a military victory would be pointless if not translated promptly to the political advantage of peace. But what happened was just the contrary. The inertia of our diplomacy failed utterly to utilize the victory of Inchon and subsequent destruction of the North Korean Armies as the basis for swift and dynamic political action, and to restore peace and to unify North Korea."

And then he proceeds to describe the restrictions placed on him when the American and Korean forces got up to the Yalu River:

And I am not going to go into that any longer, because that story is well known. The Communists were free to attack us south of the Yalu, we were not free to retaliate north of the Yalu. The disastrous retreat from the Yalu by American and Korean forces, the terrific casualties inflicted upon the flower of American

youth were to a large extent needlessly inflicted because our military commander was not given the authority to protect the men under his command and to bomb the enemy's supply depots north of the river and the troop concentration with the power that he had at his command. It was one of the darkest days in American military history and it is one in which the mothers and loved ones of thousands of Americans will never forget.

General Van Fleet, General Almond and General Clark all testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that they agreed with General MacArthur that the Chinese Communists would never have attacked in November of 1950 if they were not given advance assurances that we would not retaliate north of the Yalu. All three are in agreement that some government embassy in Peiping told the Chinese Communists ahead of time that the United Nations had decided that it would not retaliate north of the Yalu. It would be interesting to pinpoint that personality, but the generals in their testimony didn't come any closer to telling us who that individual might have been. The clear implication, of course, was that it was the British Embassy in Peiping, but the individual involved is not known.

Now let's consider some of the limitations placed upon the power of the Republic of Korea and the United States during the Korean War, beyond those that I have discussed.

General Clark in his testimony talks about the refusal of most members of the United Nations to help in the Korean effort. He was asked "What do you think about the token contributions of some of the U. N. members?" He said "I never would have given any of them up, because I needed them too badly, but I think that if we ever fight under the blue and white flag of the United Nations again there certainly should be required that they put up commensurate with their war potential, larger groups, not just token groups, to say we sent over a few men." And Clark agreed with MacArthur that the crucial day was the 26th of November when the United States and the Republic of Korea, with assistance from pressure from the United Nations, refused to retaliate north of the Yalu, when the Chinese Communist forces struck.

General Clark says "I think that that was the crucial day in American history in 1950 when thousands upon thousands of Chinese flowed across the Yalu and killed our men." "I think at that time we should have indicated that we were at war with Red China and should have retaliated with everything we had at our disposal."

President Truman made it quite clear at this very time that he was not going to permit anything to be done that would be displeasing to a majority of the United Nations. He said on the 16th of November of 1950, "It has been repeatedly stated that it was the intention of the United Nations to localize the conflict and to withdraw forces from Korea as soon as the situation permits. Speaking for the United States government and people I can give assurance that we support and are acting within the limits of the United Nations policy in Korea and that we have never at any time entertained any intention to carry hostilities into China."

Now this statement clearly indicates that we were

willingly subjecting ourselves to the desires of the majority of the United Nations in not gaining a victory and restraining ourselves with the intention of gaining a stalemate settlement based on a second division of unhappy Korea.

General Bradley made a similar statement, (remember that he was the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at that time,) when he said, "Every decision we have recommended has supported United Nations unity in conduct of war. With these principles in mind, we of the United Nations are now doing an outstanding military job." That was the day that the Chinese Communists renewed their offensive and drove the Allied forces back about fifteen miles on the battlefield.

General Bradley, as the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and President Truman, were subjecting American policy and American decision by their own words to the will of a majority of members of an organization, who themselves had contributed little or nothing to the war effort.

On the 8th of December of 1950, Clement Attlee and President Truman issued a joint communique in which they made it very clear that it was not their intention to achieve victory, but rather it was their intention to achieve a settlement. And the settlement, of course, involved again the division of Korea.

Now what was the most frightening example of United States government willingly accepting a veto on its policy, was when the issue of hot pursuit of enemy aircraft came up. You remember that our air commanders, particularly General Stratemeyer, complained that morale was very low, because they could fly up to the Yalu, chase Communist planes up to the Yalu, but they couldn't go over the line to shoot them down. Communist planes could cross the lines, shoot at them, our planes would go in to strafe south of the Yalu line that would be shot by anti-aircraft batteries at "Antung" across the river, but they couldn't shoot back.

Now here was an instance in which the entire American government favored hot pursuit of enemy aircraft across the air corridor into China. This was a clear instance in which the American government, which was the only instance I might add, earnestly desired something which they were prevented from doing by a hostile majority in the United Nations.

Dean Acheson on the 13th of November of 1950 referred to "This unanimous resolution on the part of the United States government to six nations, not named, who were helping us with token aid in Korea, to see how they felt about the hot pursuit doctrine." And at the bottom of his letter it says "Hot pursuit approved by Joint Chiefs of Staff, Defense State President. Telegram taken up with six nations, Hot pursuit not granted."

In June of 1951 General Van Fleet had the Communist Armies on the run, victory was in our grasp. But the Soviet government very cleverly stepped in at that juncture and demanded a truce. It demanded a cease fire. The Soviet government, because we acquiesced in its wish, escaped military defeat through diplomatic victory. It is an old technique that the Soviets have employed time and time again. And we fell for it.

And the testimony of Van Fleet, of Stratemeyer, of Clark, of Admiral Joy, of General Almond is unanimous. We could have won the war, driven the Communists out of Korea, unified Korea and solved the problem as far as Korea was concerned. Victory was denied us. Our forces had to withdraw to lines that were in many cases not defensible from the military point of view.

Now as the negotiations went on at Punmunjom month after month, one of the most important issues that came up was the issue of the cease fire line. It was always our contention that the cease fire line should be that line that existed on the battlefield when all of the other agreements had been made. Now the Communists — because we were still applying limited military pressure upon them, which is the only way that we could force them to retreat diplomatically, and on this the testimony is unanimous of our Far Eastern commanders—The Communist armies wanted us to agree, ahead of time, on a cease fire line and then iron out the other details later on.

Our negotiators at Punmunjom held fast to principle until they got word from Washington "Agree to the Communist wishes for a cease fire now and we will iron out the other details later on. And we will give them a thirty day limit to honor their obligation."

Well, this was the crucial part of the conference when our government and the hostile majority of the United Nations pulled the rug out from under our negotiators and gave in to the Communists on one of the most important issues.

Admiral Joy comments upon that as follows: And this is something that I think was very crucial. He said "The armistice negotiations gave the Communists an opportunity to repair their shattered war machine. The cease fire lines decided ahead of time gave them the opportunity to rebuild their shattered armies, to regain their strength. At the end of the thirty day period it was difficult, if not impossible, for us, because of the slackened morale among our forces to resume the offensive." The Communists had won the first point and this first point was to lead them to victory at the Punmunjom deliberations.

Now let's just take a look briefly at the four so-called compromises at Punmunjom to see what the nature of these compromises was. First of all the matter of ports of entry in North Korea. We insisted that twelve of ports of entry in North Korea must be patrolled by the ports of entry into North Korea must be patrolled by the United Nations to insure that the Communists wouldn't reinforce themselves. The Communists said four ports of entry would be sufficient. The compromise: four ports of entry.

The next issue was, "Who would supervise the truce, the United Nations or neutral nations?" We said the United Nations. They said neutral nations. The compromised: Neutral nations. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Switzerland and India. It was a three to two vote against us.

The next issue: Should the Chinese Communists who invaded North Korea in violation of the Charter and in violation of United Nations resolutions, should the Chinese Communists be permitted to stay in North Korea?

We said "No." They said "Please, you have been so kind in the past." And the compromise, the Chinese Communists not only were allowed to stay in North Korea, but they were allowed to build what the agreement calls "commercial air fields."

Well, the North Korean Communists never had any commercial airliners nor did the Chinese Communists at that time. And these commercial air fields are, of course, military air fields, which for the first time give the Communists, with the forces which they have on hand, the power to strike Japan.

Now, regarding the position of the war prisoners. Now here we said very frankly that we would not permit any anti-communists prisoners to be forcibly repatriated or forcibly detained. We remembered the unfortunate experiences in Germany and in Austria. They said, "We want forcible repatriation or at least forcible detention for a time limit." Now, here was the compromise. The pro-Communist prisoners, who represented about only twenty percent of the North Koreans and Chinese that we had captured — only about twenty percent, these pro-Communist prisoners, who included the war criminals, who murdered ten thousand American boys, were released without any war trial, without any forcible detention, back to North Korea and to China, in spite of the pleas of General Clark to hold these men who had murdered American boys in cold blood, war prisoners these were.

And those of you who haven't read the stories on these tortures and seen the pictures can never appreciate it. But, the Chinese Communists, are now being so ardently wooed, even by some Americans, despite the immensity of the crimes they perpetrated on American boys in December of 1950 and January of 1951.

The compromise was that almost eighty percent of the prisoners had decided they didn't want to go back to Communism. They had chosen freedom. And so what did we do with them? Could they go off where they wanted to go? No, they were forcibly detained for four months by Indian guards and during three of the four months they were brain-washed by Communist professionals from Eastern Europe.

We did this behind Syngman Rhee's back. And since he was not a partner to this agreement, he released the anti-communist Korean prisoners and for that he was loudly condemned by many commentators, even here in our own United States, for upsetting the truce which certain people so ardently wanted with the Chinese Communists.

An American machine gun company mowed down forty of these anti-communists Koreans as they tried to come to our side, to freedom.

Now finally what is the testimony of our Far Eastern commanders on American-U. N. relationship? First of all General George Stratemeyer, head of our Air Forces; "I remember when the United Nations was opened, everybody had great hopes for what it was going to do. But, I am going to ask myself a question. What constructive good has the United Nations done for the United States of America? And my answer to that question to myself is, I can think of very very little or maybe nothing."

They asked General Clark these same questions and he replied as follows: "If we ever fight again under the blue and white flag of the United Nations, there certainly should be required that they put up commensurate with their war potential larger groups, not just token groups, to say that they sent over a few men."

And then finally he says: "here goes an honest answer, I have not had much respect for the United Nations, I don't think that it has contributed much to the world's problems. I realize they have a beautiful building and they involve themselves in almost every conceivable kind of problem that affects the welfare of mankind, but nothing seems to happen."

(Loud applause and laughter.)

Ladies and gentlemen, our government is at this moment seriously considering a disastrous move in the Straits of Formosa, which would destroy once and for all the hopes and aspirations of the Free Chinese on Formosa, the off shore islands and throughout all of Asia. At this moment our government, under strong pressure, both internally and from a hostile majority in United Nations, is seriously arguing the abandonment of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu; it is seriously urging conversations with the Chinese Communists, which can only result in an agreement comparable to the Punmunjom or Geneva agreement.

I beg you to send your telegrams and letters in tonight and tomorrow to plead with our President, to stand fast with our ally, the Republic of China and to demand simply this, that we just stop retreating. That's a very easy thing to do. Just stop retreating. Stop giving the Chinese Communists more islands.

(Sustained applause.)

What is the purpose of a conference with the Red Chinese? I am amazed at some of our correspondents who say "Isn't it wonderful that the Red Chinese have agreed to talk to us, they have agreed to talk to us, to see how much more real estate they can get from us."

The only things that we have to talk to them are first; an ultimatum to get out of North Korea; secondly, an ultimatum to get out of Indo-China; third, to release 521 American war prisoners; and fourth — (Applause) — and fourth, to fly to Washington and to be tried for the murder of ten thousand American boys in Korea.

(Applause.)

The pressures on the President to give in to the Chinese Communists again are tremendous. If he does give in, it will in part be due to our failure to put the comparable pressure on him. Let's put all the pressure we can on him, and if he does give in at least we can go to bed with our consciences.

In the long run we will win this fight, but we can't stand to have many more losses such as we had at Punmunjom and Geneva. This is the crucial, the most important issue of all. The battle in the Straits of Formosa. If we retreat once more here, the forces of freedom in Asia are gone and the forces of freedom in the United States will be gone.

I know that you will do your utmost in this respect and I thank you for having stayed so long to listen to me.

Thank you very much.

(Sustained applause.)

# Peace Without U.N.

By THADDEUS ASHBY

**THADDEUS ASHBY** — Of Los Angeles, California, at present associate editor of FAITH AND FREEDOM, a magazine published by Spiritual Mobilization. Ashby is best known for his individualist viewpoint, his inspiring articles for THE READER'S DIGEST, THE FREEMAN, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, HUMAN EVENTS, and the Freedom Newspapers, and his work as editor of the Colorado Springs GAZETTE TELEGRAPH editorial page.

When left to themselves uncomplicated by U.N. Propaganda most people like to travel, meet Foreigners, buy their wares, "souvenirs" and bring them home. When people can't travel they enjoy travellogues in movies, lectures by returned travellers; or they become arm-chair Marco Polo's, and travel through books. They enjoy going to "foreign" fairs, such as the South Sea trading company in California, which sells souvenirs from Tahiti and other romantic islands. Or they go to Macy's or Gimbel's who occasionally give over whole floors to Italian imports or Swedish imports, or whatever the latest craze may be.

Except in time of war or threat of war most people like things foreign: foreign lands, foreign goods, and foreigners. During the 20's almost any Englishman who had written a book could get a lecture tour in America.

In cities throughout America little French restaurants are springing up, because it's "smart" to eat in French restaurants. The most famous restaurants in the United States, Colony, 21, Pavillon, Antoine's, for example, are owned either by Frenchmen, Italians or Jews of foreign birth or descent.

Left to themselves, unpropagandized, unthreatened with war, unthreatened by taxes to help foreigners, Americans would love foreigners and all things foreign.

In this sense, then, Americans are internationalists. We're Internationalist; in the sense that we want to see everything and buy everything when we go abroad; anything different, exotic, or romantic and we love it.

We begin to reject things foreign only when governments, ours, or some other, meddles with our natural friendliness. Roosevelt provoked Japan to attack us through various devious methods, and shortly afterward a propaganda campaign whipped up our hatred for the Japs.

We had loved their country, their art, particularly their watercolors decorated with their fragile calligraphy, their architecture (our greatest architects took their inspiration from Japan's low-slung style with sliding walls which let the garden walk indoors) their gardens, their mountains, their delicate lacquer-ware teacups.

Here on the West Coast we considered the Japanese to be hardworking, thrifty, courteous, considerate people. Left to ourselves we wouldn't have made war on them. Neither would they have spontaneously desired to make



war on us. The guilt goes to our governments, ours and theirs.

During the war most people would have considered it unpatriotic to decorate their houses with Japanese lanterns, cherry blossoms (somebody actually tried to chop down the Japanese cherry trees in Washington) to cover your walls with their silk-screen watercolors, drink from their lacquer ware, or bar-b-que a hotdog on a charcoal hibachi.

People now enjoy these things, because we recognize in time of peace that beauty and art are international, created and enjoyed by all people.

One of the most beautiful rooms I ever saw was built in long low Japanese style, except that its fire-place was made of huge "northwoods" American boulders; llama-skin rugs from Peru had been thrown on the floor; bongo drums from Africa sat in a corner and raw red silk "Chinese" red, but designed in Italy, covered the chairs. The ceiling in the kitchen was plastered with ski-posters advertising the snowy mountains of Sweden and Switzerland.

This house is owned by a libertarian. He is sometimes called an "isolationist" because he doesn't believe we should get involved in foreign wars. He thinks we should go to war only when our shores are invaded. He doesn't believe we should be taxed to send one penny to help any foreign nation or individual. On principle he damns lend-lease, the Marshall Plan, ECA and Point Four. Yet he spent a lot of his own money on foreign objects of art, and furnishings; his wife's car was made in England.

Artistically, he is an internationalist. Politically, an isolationist. He said to me one day:

"We shouldn't let the collectivists who support the United Nations push us around. We hear that they, the

UNer's, the Communists, and Socialists, want free trade. Shucks, they don't want free trade. They want trade controlled by government, quotas, restrictions, rationing, breadliness; they want to tax us to subsidize their factories so they can sell their goods in our country. That's not free trade. Trade can't be free if the government has anything to do with it.

"Free trade means I like your necktie and you like my belt. We trade, each believing we benefited. We don't tell the government anything about it and it's none of the government's business. It doesn't make any difference whether you're black, red, yellow, Russian, or Patagonian. If each of us profits by the exchange then nobody loses. Free trade simply means that individuals should be free to make deals with each other, regardless of nationality. They wouldn't do it unless they each profited. Free trade doesn't mean trade between Governments, or any kind of subsidized trade; free trade takes place between individuals."

"I thought you were an 'isolationist' ", I said.

"In a sense, I am," he said. "I don't believe in forcing anybody to help out anybody else. I don't believe in taxing Americans to help foreigners. And I don't believe in committing our troops to fight on foreign soil. But if I personally want to buy something made in a foreign country, I don't believe the government has a right to meddle in the deal. Free trade, to me, means doing as we please with our own money, buying where we can get the best deal."

"How about the argument," I asked him, "that if you were free to spend your money on foreign goods you would be taking work away from American workers?"

"In the first place," he answered, "that's a collectivistic argument, which makes my personal business the concern of society, which it isn't. In the second place, suppose all the imported articles in my house had come into this country duty free, tax-free, tariff-free, no restrictions on the exchange of any kind. They would have cost me about half as much as they actually cost me. Say the imported things I own, cost me \$5000, and if I had been free to buy them at their free market price, they would have cost me only \$2500. I would have spent that other \$2500 on something else, and would have stimulated new employment, \$2500 worth of goods, services and labor would have come into existence which do not now exist. Instead it went to the government in the form of a tariff or duty or tax."

"There's no guarantee you would have spent that money in America, though," I said. "You might have spent it on more imports, so you could own twice as much imported stuff."

"Then the individuals I trade with, wherever they are, could spend that money on American goods, which would stimulate employment here."

"What if they spent your dollars somewhere else, in some other foreign country?"

"The dollars would come back to us eventually. Besides, I believe in competition, free competition. I believe our know-how and machines can compete with anybody, and we would compete better, shrewder, like the old

Yankee clipper captains, if we didn't have any **artificial** supports such as tariffs to prop us up."

"You don't believe in free trade for the same reason the UN supporters do, obviously," I said.

"How could I? I think the U.S. should get out of the U. N. immediately. No, the UNers don't believe in free trade at all, really. Ask them if they'd repeal all government intervention in business. They'll answer, no. But that's what free trade means. They believe in controlled, subsidized trade because it's another way of taxing us to pay for their industries. But I believe in free trade because I believe mankind will either trade or fight. If goods do not cross borders, soldiers will."

"Abolish the U.N., abolish all agencies which attempt to force men to harmonize, then we will have real peace, because we will get along together naturally. When we don't want to associate with each other, we won't. When it's to our mutual profit we will become friends. Peace can be achieved through voluntary love and voluntary commerce, voluntary travel and trade. But the UN doesn't stand for any of these things."

"All you really need to get men to travel, to trade, and to love their neighbors, is to let them alone. Don't try to force us to love our neighbors; it can't be done. But leave us alone, and we will get together naturally; commerce and our love of mutual profit will see to that."

"It's hard to love each other as long as we're being taxed to support each other; that breeds resentment. That's what the UN stands for, involuntary, coerced love, a contradiction in terms. Leave us alone and we'll travel and trade together to our hearts content, and those of us who do will learn to love our neighbors, and to respect their talents as they respect ours."

I thought over my friend's ideas, and I decided that the Communists had been pushing us around. Many of us oppose free trade because we think the Communists are for it. I started reading some books by conservatives, right-wingers, and libertarians who believe that the doctrine of love thy neighbor combined with free trade is the best practical way to peace. I found these publications by "free traders" who oppose the United Nations idea:

**SOCIAL FALLACIES, AND HARMONIES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY** by Frederic Bastiat, published by the Register Publishing Co. R. C. Hoiles, President, Santa Ana, Calif.

**THE GOD OF THE MACHINE** by Isabel Paterson, (Putnam, New York)

**THE MAINSPRING OF HUMAN PROGRESS** by Rose Wilder Lane and Henry Grady Weaver, (the Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington on Hudson, N.Y.)

**THE TARIFF IDEA** by W. M. Curtiss (FEE, Irvington, N. Y.)

**ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON** by Henry Hazlitt (FEE, Irvington, N. Y.)

**ONE IS A CROWD** by Frank Chodorov (Devin-Adair, New York)

**ANTHEM** by Ayn Rand (Caxton Printers, Caldwell,

*(Idaho)*

**THE FREEMAN MAGAZINE** (FEE, Irvington, N. Y.)  
**FAITH AND FREEDOM** (1521 Wilshire, LA 17, Calif.)  
**CHRISTIAN ECONOMICS** (New York City)

These books and publications convinced me that man-

kind will either trade or fight. Perhaps after reading them you will consider free trade as a much better path-way to peace better than the UN or any other political, coercive agency.